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ABSTRACT

Seven themes concerning the role of women in higher education institutions are considered, generalizations about each theme are proposed, and literature supporting each area is cited. The analyses are designed for use as training modules for enhancing women's equity in colleges and universities. The seven themes are as follows: the productivity of women faculty members, recruitment and selection of women faculty members, women faculty and the university reward system, socialization of women in colleges and universities, administrative opportunities for women in colleges and universities, responses of women to discriminatory behavior in colleges and universities. It is suggested that the topics can be separated and used singly in several ways (e.g., as class presentations, informational units for college administrators and faculty, or as basic information for a newsletter). Questions are posed for each area in order to provoke examination of the issues at the personal and institutional levels of experience. References are included, and a slide tape and transparencies are available to accompany the print materials. (SW)

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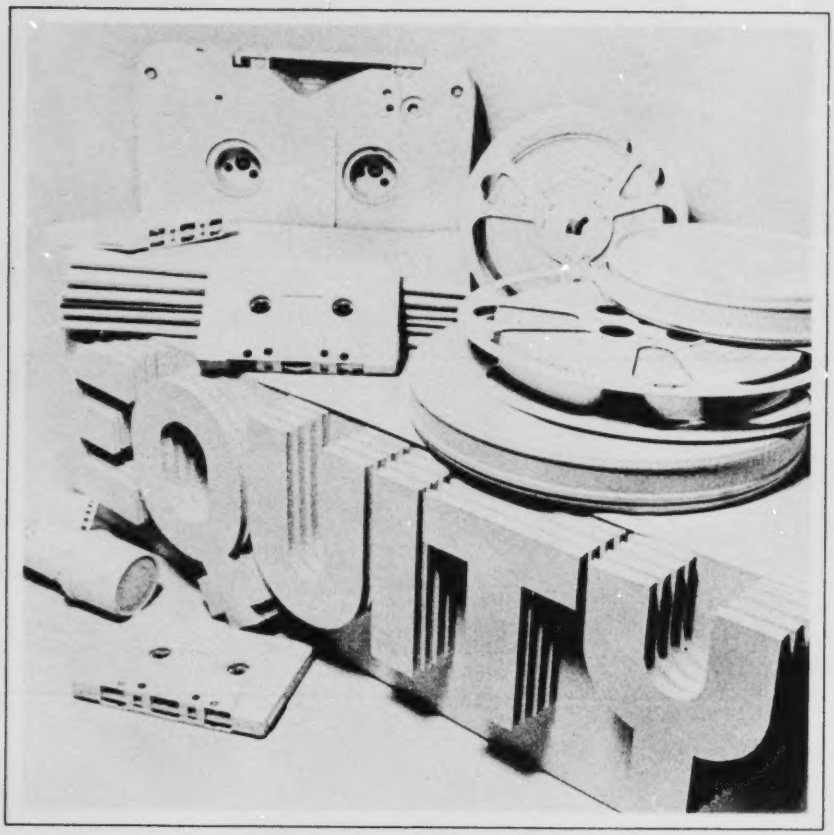

Training Materials for Advancing Women's Equity

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EQUITY FOR WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION PROJECT

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WOMEN IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

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Sponsored by

The University Council for Educational Administration in cooperation with Boston University, Georgia State University, Indiana University, University of Iowa and The Ohio State University. Project Director for UCEA is Jack Culbertson; Project Coordinator is Grace Chisolm.

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FOREWORD

The thesis of this monograph is straightforward: sufficient empirical research, experiential evidence and informed speculation about women in colleges and universities has been accumulated over the past several years to support generalizations about their present and future role in these institutions. Decision makers and influentials in institutions of higher education would be assisted if these data were available to them.

Seven themes have been chosen to represent the substantive areas in which questions and issues arise most frequently regarding the role of women in institutions of higher education. They are:

1 - The Productivity of Women Faculty Members

2 - Recruitment and Selection of Women Faculty Members

3 - Women Faculty and the University Reward System

4 - Socialization of Women in Colleges and Universities

5 - Administrative Opportunities for Women in Colleges and Universities

6 - Responses of Women to Discriminatory Behavior in Colleges and Universities

7 - Special Problems Confronting Minority Women in Colleges and Universities

In the interest of readability and brevity, the authors will risk oversimplification: we will venture several generalizations about each area and support them briefly with references to current and recently completed research or writing in the area. The reader will discover that the generalizations vary in terms of the extant empirical evidence which is available to support them. The authors are not disturbed by the prospect that a reader may either wish to debate a generalization which has been included

or argue that cogent and supportable generalizations have been overlooked. We hope that the individual sections of the monograph are sufficiently interesting and thought-provoking to stimulate discussion and study. If they are, the end result will be to better inform those of us in institutions of higher education who will be directly and indirectly influencing the role of women in these institutions over the next several years.

Process Alternatives

While the selected topics are presented here in monograph form, the use of the materials as a unit is not the only mode intended or possible. Several alternatives exist which may have greater impact than a single presentation of all sections of the monograph:

- A slide tape is available to accompany the monograph. Transparencies are also available. These aids are designed to complement the print materials and can be used in groups and classes with or without the monograph.
- The sections of the monograph could be separated and used singly in several ways, e.g., as class presentations over several weeks, as a series of informational units for college administrators, faculty and staff, as a basic information source for a newsletter, etc.
- Questions have been provided at the end of each section. These have been designed to provoke examination of the issues presented at the personal and institutional levels of experience.
- Questions imply a particular form of discussion. The user may have more success with open-ended discussion of the information presented.

. The data presented will prompt the readers to relate personal knowledge or experience which is suggested by the generalizations. This will make richer group discussion possible.

. Subtle ways in which misconceptions about women in academic life affect their careers are presented in a companion set of case studies. These are fictionalized presentations of actual experiences prepared by the project team.

These are a few suggestions. The reader can probably think of several others. It is hoped that the suggestions offered will stimulate a variety of approaches to the use of the data presented here.

THE PRODUCTIVITY OF WOMEN FACULTY MEMBERS

> The vacancy we have to fill is in tests and measurement--not child development or elementary education. Looking for a good woman in this area is going to be like looking for a needle in a haystack. Even if we do find a woman who can qualify for the job, we'll almost certainly have to pass up better qualified men in the process.[1]

The accumulated evidence from years of data gathering on the academic achievement of females in public schools and colleges leads all observers to note that female students are high achievers.[2] But isn't it different when achievement in a professional career is involved? Doesn't it just make sense that you can expect the divisiveness of a family and a career to affect negatively the professional productivity of women? Aren't women more likely to be attracted by the service and teaching aspects of the professorship than by research and writing? Won't they subordinate their career aspirations to those of their spouse if they are married? Isn't it more realistic than chauvinistic to raise questions about women's productivity in academia?

Although the evidence relevant to the productivity of faculty members by sex and marital status varies somewhat from study to study, the following generalizations seem justified.

Generalization #1 - Sex is, at best, an uncertain predictor of scholarly achievement in academia.

Gross comparisons of scholarly productivity by men and women faculty members in colleges and universities show consistent and marked advantage in favor of men. For example, across all institutions in 1972-73, Bayer (ACE) reported over three times as high a percentage of men as women were frequent authors of published writings (10.9 percent to 3.3 percent) and men were more likely to be involved in basic research and as principal

investigators on research studies.[3] This is consistent with the data reported by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education.[4]

These differences melt away as investigators target their studies on male and female faculty in comparable institutions with comparable faculty assignments. For example, Simon, Clark and Galway found that "respondents in the natural and physical sciences are more likely to have published than respondents in other fields, but between men and women . . . the differences are negligible."[5] This is consistent with the evidence of productivity in the Loeb and Ferber study which showed ". . . that women published slightly more bulletins and technical reports, edited volumes and reviews, while men published slightly more books and articles."[6] This, despite the fact that 15 percent of the women in the sample worked part-time compared to one percent of the men.

Obviously, the studies cited in the preceding paragraphs are not in conflict. They simply affirm the oft-noted phenomena that women are more likely to receive faculty appointments in non-research institutions; in part-time, nontenure track positions; in faculty positions with higher teaching loads and service responsibilities and less opportunity for research and writing. When such factors are taken into account in drawing samples for study, the differences in productivity are insignificant.

Generalization #2 - The marital status and parental status of women faculty seem to be negligible factors in scholarly productivity.

Contrary to the popular assumptions based on "common sense," Simon, Clark and Galway found that neither marital status nor parenthood had a negative effect on publication by women faculty. In fact, although the differences were small across the natural sciences, social sciences, humanities and education, married women published more than unmarried

women. In addition, married women with children out-published their unmarried counterparts in all fields except education.[7]

In a study of a national sample of male and female faculty, Hamovitch and Morgenstern reported:

> (1) women faculty publish somewhat less than men, and (2) there is no evidence that child rearing is related to the number of publications of academic women.[8]

In regard to point number one, the study did show that 64 percent of the observed difference in productivity between male and female faculty could be explained by such factors as number of hours teaching, teaching undergraduates, and teaching in the humanities.[9]

Similar findings have been reported by Ferber and Loeb on the basis of a study of University of Illinois faculty. They found no relationship between publications and either marital or parental status of women faculty although professional honors, higher salary and rank were ". . . slightly but significantly more likely to be awarded to single than to married women."[10]

Conversely, in a study of research chemists, Hargens, McCann and Reskin did find that parental status had a negative impact on the publication rate of the researchers in their sample. However, this phenomenon was common for men and women.[11]

Empirical studies of the effect of marital and parental status on scholarly productivity are ambiguous. They surely do not justify the concern frequently expressed about the scholarly careers of married women or women with children. Among predictors of academic success, they would have to be considered weak indicators.

Generalization #3 - Sex is unrelated to the teaching effectiveness of faculty members in colleges and universities.

Research and writing are not the only measures of academic productivity--just the measures about which the greatest concern is typically expressed in terms of women faculty. In relation to teaching effectiveness, Loeb and Ferber found no significant differences by sex in terms of student ratings.

Generalization #4 - Women Ph.D.'s exhibit remarkable constancy and commitment to their careers in academia.

A frequent concern expressed about women faculty is that they will be productive while employed at the university but will have discontinuous employment, abandoning their careers for husband and children. Especially considering the social pressures working against the woman faculty member in this regard, this is simply not the case. Simon, Clark and Galway note, for example:

> The first interesting finding is the high proportion of women with doctorates who 'practice their trade.' . . . practically all the unmarried women and 87 percent of the married women without children work full time. Even among the married women with children, 60 percent work full time and 25 percent work part time.[12]

In noting the unusual career commitment of women who complete doctorates, Astin reported:

> The survey of women doctorates revealed that 91 percent of the women doctorates of 1957 and 1958 were in the labor force seven or eight years later. Of these, 81 percent were working full time and only 10 percent were employed on a part-time basis. Seventy-nine percent of the women had never interrupted their careers; for the rest of the group, the median interruption was a mere fourteen months.[13]

Summary

Employing agents in colleges and universities, especially in high prestige, research-oriented universities, have expressed and are still expressing concern about the productivity of women faculty which is unjustified. Despite external pressures which have obviously pressed women faculty toward part-time academic careers, teaching and service rather than research and scholarship, and interrupted rather than continuous careers, women who persist through the doctorate and who obtain appointments in research-oriented univerity settings are best typified as:

. Strong contributors in research and publications.

. Good teachers.

. Committed and continuous university employees.

All the evidence available currently supports the notion that as opportunities for academic training for women at the doctoral level increase and appointments to research universities become more frequent, sex differentials in professional productivity will disappear altogether.

* * * * * *

1. How well do the data presented here fit with your own expectations for scholarly productivity by women faculty?

2. Do you think that concerns about the productivity of women faculty still affect hiring and promotion? Have you seen any evidence of this at your institution?

FOOTNOTES

1. Conversation between the Chairperson of Educational Psychology at Northeastern State University and a colleague as reported in Marianne A. Ferber, Carole A. Herrera, Mary Augustine and Kevin G. Clark, Women in Higher Education: A Casebook (School of Education, Indiana University, Equity for Women in Higher Education Project: Bloomington, Indiana) June, 1978, p. I-3.

2. For example, see K. Patricia Cross, Beyond the Open Door: New Students in Higher Education (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971), pp. 133-138.

3. Allan E. Bayer, "Teaching Faculty in Academe: 1972-73," ACE Research Reports 8 (August 1973), p. 29.

4. The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, Opportunities for Women in Higher Education (New York: McGraw-Hill, September 1973), pp. 222-23.

5. Rita J. Simon, Shirley M. Clark and Kathleen Galway, "The Woman Ph.D.: A Recent Profile," Social Problems 15 (Fall, 1967), pp. 221-36.

6. Marianne A. Ferber and Jane W. Loeb, "Performance, Rewards, and Perceptions of Sex Discrimination Among Male and Female Faculty," American Journal of Sociology 78 (July-August 1972), p. 996.

7. Simon, Clark, and Galway, op. cit., p. 230.

8. William Hamovitch and Richard D. Morgenstern, "Children and the Productivity of Academic Women," The Journal of Higher Education 48 (November-December, 1977), p. 633.

9. Ibid., p. 637.

10. Jane W. Loeb and Marianne A. Ferber, "Representation, Performance and Status of Women on the Faculty at the Urbana-Champaign Campus of the University of Illinois" in Academic Women on the Move (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973), p. 245.

11. Lowell L. Hargens, James C. McCann and Barbara F. Reskin, "Productivity and Reproductivity," Social Forces, in press (mimeographed, November 1976).

12. Simon, Clark, and Galway, op. cit., p. 223.

13. Helen S. Astin, "Career Profiles of Women Doctorates" in Academic Women on the Move (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973), p. 156.

RECRUITMENT AND SELECTION OF WOMEN FACULTY MEMBERS

I understand why the dean feels we need to hire women faculty and I think I understand affirmative action programs and goals, but when such comes to where he'd really mean that we have to find a woman regardless of the effect on the quality of our program! . . . We've always had the best luck in faculty recruitment when we relied on informal contacts across the country. . . . I think advertising is just going to overwhelm us with inappropriate candidates.[1]

Despite the data available on the productivity of women faculty members, opportunities for women faculty in colleges and universities are still limited by persistent stereotypes of women as field-bound (e.g., elementary education) or interest-bound (e.g., student personnel services); as part-time or discontinuous professionals; as teachers but not scholars. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that colleges and universities, especially prestigious universities, have long employed an informal, "old boys" network to refer outstanding doctoral students to one another for initial placement in universities where career opportunities for the beginning professor are best. This brings us back to the point at which selection and recruitment actually begin--the pre-employment training and preparation of the advanced graduate student.

Generalization #1 - Women doctoral students are less valued than their male counterparts. They are less likely to be admitted to advanced degree programs, less apt to be supported financially, and more likely to confront expectations of modest or mediocre career attainments.

Using data from the American Council on Education and the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education's national survey of graduate students in 1969, Holmstrom and Holmstrom reported:

1. Thirty-one percent of the women doctoral students felt that professors in their departments did not take women graduate students seriously.

2. The rate and quality of graduate student interaction with faculty consistently favored male graduate students.[2]

This is consistent with the Tidball study of faculty attitudes toward women students. She concluded:

> ...men faculty perceive women students as sexual beings and as less serious and capable students than men, thereby excluding women students from full partnership in collegial relationships.[3]

Such data are no surprise to women doctoral students. In the AAUP Bulletin, Ann Harris documented anecdotally the typical comments a woman doctoral student might face from a male professor:

- A pretty girl like you will certainly get married; why don't you stop with an M.A.?
- You're so cute. I can't see you as a professor of anything.
- We expect women who come here to be competent, good students, but we don't expect them to be brilliant or original.[4]

But up to this point, we have been commenting on the favored few, i.e., those who make it into advanced graduate schools in the first place. Of the 34,086 doctoral degrees awarded in 1975, 21.3 percent were awarded to women. As one might expect, this figure is inflated by more traditional areas of "women's study" (e.g., home economics--67.3%; foreign language--46.9%; library science--41.1%; and education and psychology--30.9%). As a matter of fact, education and psychology accounted for 42 percent of all doctoral degrees granted to women. In addition, the figure is depressed by "men's fields" (e.g., engineering--2.1%; agriculture and natural resources--3.3%; business and management--4.1%, and physical sciences--8.3%).[5] The National Research Council reported in May, 1978 that ". . . the proportion of doctorates going to women reached an all time high of 24.8 percent in 1977 . . ." and "the number of doctorates awarded to women increased in all . . . areas except life sciences and the humanities."[6] Obviously, only a

small, select group of women go on to graduate school to expose themselves to the low expectations for "brilliance or originality." Quite expectedly, considering the pattern of selectivity, their academic records based on undergraduate studies are well above those of male doctoral students.

Despite the fact that women doctoral students are selected consistently from among the higher undergraduate achievers and time after time have demonstrated themselves to be, as a group, higher achievers than males, it is only recently that sex has not been shown to be significant in institutional financial support for graduate study. As Roby noted, however, ". . . if academic competence and performance strictly determined who receives fellowships and assistantships, more women than men would receive support, since women demonstrate superior overall academic performance."[7]

Generalization #2 - Discriminatory practices have existed and do persist in the employment of women for faculty positions in colleges and universities.

Although affirmative action has increased the opportunities for women in academic employment and reduced instances of overt discrimination, it would be naive for the woman doctoral student to assume that the prejudices confronted during the period of doctoral study will disappear when predominantly male faculty are involved in the processes of recruitment and selection. Fidell's study of credential ranking in psychology concluded that:

> The hypothesis that academic departments of psychology discriminate in hiring on the basis of sex has received considerable support. The level at which a Ph.D. would be offered a position apparently depends not only on the person's academic credentials, but also on the person's sex. . . . Only men were offered full professorships.[8]

This is consistent with the Simpson study of six Pennsylvania colleges and universities that stated "the female candidate competing against an equally qualified male candidate for a higher education position, will frequently experience discrimination from employing agents."[9] Simpson also noted that the discrimination is most likely to be evidenced in fields in which female employment is atypical, a phenomenon which should have depressed the results noted in Fidell's study since psychology is a "woman's field."

But it can be argued that these studies reflect covert discrimination and affirmative action has prevented overt discrimination. Universities insisted that was the case in a 1974 survey by Tittle, Saario and Denker, to wit, "recruitment of men and women to a university faculty is done in exactly the same way. . . ."[10] The Cartter and Ruhter study substantiated the fact that from 1967 to 1973 the representation of women, especially at prestigious institutions, had increased significantly. They noted, however, that "this positive mobility has resulted primarily from a decline in this measure of placement for men while women doctorates either increased or maintained their positions."[11]

A discordant note, consistent with the hypothesis that covert discrimination exists while overt discrimination is disappearing, is entered by Steele and Green. Their evidence suggests that once affirmative action goals are met the subsequent recruitment of minority candidates is abandoned, ". . . even to the point of reduced advertising."[12] They concluded:

> Despite its better intentions, affirmative action policy has been implemented in this sample of departments as, essentially, a quota system. Perhaps the most important finding of the study was that once a department reached its prescribed level of minority utilization, in the absence of any loss of minority faculty, further hiring of minorities was abandoned despite their availability.[13]

Generalization #3 - The myth that affirmative action for women in employment poses a conflict between the desired goals of quality personnel in institutions of higher education and equality for women in higher education is exactly that--a myth.

The evidence on the productivity of women faculty members cited in Section I represents an empirical refutation of the claim that there is any necessary conflict between these two goals. A logical analysis of the situation leads to the same conclusion. The selectivity that occurs prior to the acquisition of a doctoral degree by a woman is so much greater than that for male degree recipients that the achievement motivation and commitment of the former as a group is almost certain to be higher than the latter. As Patricia Cross noted in her discussion of women as new students: "Unlike other groups of new students, women as a group are well qualified to undertake college work."[14] Exactly the same observation is pertinent to women as "new employees" in colleges and universities. They are qualified by preparation and commitment to assume their role as outstanding professors.

Generalization #4 - Despite recent gains in the selection of women for roles in colleges and universities, there is still compelling evidence to support the fact that women are underrepresented in all roles in higher education.

To begin at the beginning, young women are still underrepresented at the undergraduate level in colleges and universities. Despite their superior high school academic performance, the national ratio of men to women in college in 1975 was 55 to 45. By 1975, almost half the enrolled freshmen were women (a notable milestone) but they were still less likely to finish college, i.e., their dropout rate from full-time undergraduate study was still higher than male students.[15] In the 1977-78 academic year, 46 percent of full-time students and 42 percent of part-time students were women.[16]

The enrollment of women in graduate programs is also markedly on the increase (up 59 percent from 1970-75 in contrast with a decline of 2.6 percent for men in the same period),[17] but as was noted earlier in this chapter, the ratio of men to women doctorates is still about 4:1.

Cartter and Ruhter reported that by 1973 the percentage of new women doctorates employed in all colleges and universities had risen to 20.8 percent, a figure roughly comparable to their representation as doctoral graduates. More significantly, some of the changes were remedying long-standing problems of women in academia. For example, from 1967 to 1973 the percentage of new women doctorates employed by universities rose from 10.7 percent to 20.6 percent. The percentage employed by the most prestigious institutions rose incredibly from 4.4 percent to 27.8 percent.[18]

Still, in 1975-76 women comprised less than a quarter of all college faculty (24.3 percent) and the gain in representation from 1974-75 to 1975-76 was 0.5 percent.[19] The road ahead to full representation of women in college and university roles is a very long one.

Summary

Talented young women are still underrepresented in the undergraduate colleges of the United States. As they move to specialized advanced graduate training their underrepresentation is exacerbated and they still confront stereotypes which socialize them to "women's fields and interests." Their talents as a group are not exploited by many graduate professors. Although employment opportunities in higher education, especially in research-oriented universities, have opened up for young women, this increase in opportunity has been in response to strong, extra-institutional, legal pressures. Without continued concern expressed by decisionmakers and influentials in and outside of higher education, it is reasonable to predict that universities will fall back to recruitment and selection processes which will adversely affect faculty opportunities for women. Despite recent gains, there is still no doubt but that the role of women in colleges and universities is a minority role.

* * * * * *

1. Do women graduate students still face differential treatment from faculty? Why do you think changes in the attitudes toward women students have or have not occurred?

2. What are some institutional practices which may result in more women dropping out of college than men? Do such practices exist at your institution?

3. If, as is often noted by white males seeking initial employment, reverse discrimination is operating against them, how do you account for the minimal gains in representation of women on college and university faculties, e.g., plus 0.5 percent from 1975 to 1976?

4. Do you suspect that departments at your college or university will abandon affirmative action concerns after meeting what they might interpret as their "quota" of women faculty?

FOOTNOTES

1. Reflections of the Chairperson of Educational Psychology at Metropolitan State University on a memorandum from the Dean of the School of Education as reported in Marianne H. Mitchell, Martha M. McCarthy, Mary Anastasiow and David L. Clark, Women in Higher Education: A Casebook (School of Education, Indiana University, Equity for Women in Higher Education Project: Bloomington, Indiana), June, 1978, p. I-2.

2. Engin I. Holmstrom and Robert W. Holmstrom, "The Plight of the Woman Doctoral Student," American Educational Research Journal 11 (Winter 1974), p. 2.

3. M. Elizabeth Tidball, "Of Men and Research," Journal of Higher Education 47 (July-August 1976), p. 386.

4. Ann Sutherland Harris, "The Second Sex in Academe," AAUP Bulletin 56 (Fall 1970), p. 285.

5. "Fact File: Degrees Awarded in Various Fields, 1975," The Chronicle of Higher Education XIII (November 29, 1976), p. 8.

6. "Doctoral Awards Drop 3.8 Pct., But Women Enlarge Their Share," The Chronicle of Higher Education XVI (May 30, 1978), p. 6.

7. Pamela Roby, "Institutional Barriers to Women Students in Higher Education" in Academic Women on the Move (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973), p. 49.

8. L.S. Fidell, "Empirical Verification of Sex Discrimination in Hiring Practices in Psychology," American Psychologist 25 (Winter 1970), pp. 1096-97.

9. Laurence Simpson, A Study of Employing Agent's Attitudes Toward Academic Women in Higher Education, unpublished doctoral dissertation (Pennsylvania State University: 1968), p. 103.

10. Carol K. Tittle, Terry N. Saario and Eleanor R. Denker, "Women in Educational Research: Their Status from Student to Employee," Educational Researcher 4 (October 1975), p. 19.

11. Allan M. Cartter and Wayne E. Ruhter, The Disappearance of Sex Discrimination in First Job Placement of New Ph.D.'s (Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute, Research Report 75-1), p. 15.

12. Claude M. Steele and Stephen G. Green, "Affirmative Action and Academic Hiring," Journal of Higher Education 47 (July-August 1976), p. 413.

13. Ibid., pp. 431-32.

14. K. Patricia Cross, Beyond the Open Door: New Students in Higher Education (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1971), p. 135.

15. Anne C. Roark, "First-Time College Enrollment of Women Leaps Dramatically," The Chronicle of Higher Education XIII (February 7, 1977), p. 10.

16. Jack Magarrell, "Women Account for 93 Pct. of Enrollment Gain," The Chronicle of Higher Education XV (January 9, 1978), p. 1.

17. Roark, op. cit., p. 11.

18. Cartter and Ruhter, op. cit., p. 9.

19. "Male College Faculty Increase Salary Lead Over Women," Report on Educational Research (October 6, 1976), p. 8.

WOMEN FACULTY AND THE UNIVERSITY REWARD SYSTEM

> She told me not to kill myself worrying about research and publications because I wouldn't be rewarded anyway.[1]
>
> I believed I had to be better than my male colleagues to be promoted to associate professor and placed on tenure. Next year my promotion to full professor will be under consideration and I'm really worried about it. I think I have a strong case but I wouldn't want to bet on the outcome.[2]

Attempting to generalize currently about women faculty and the university reward system is shooting at a moving target. Colleges and universities are in the process of adjusting to a more equitable reward system based on factors more relevant to productivity than sex. Some of the more obvious and egregious instances of discrimination have been eliminated. However, serious problems still exist and, as was noted in Section II on recruitment and selection, after the first efforts to attain equity have been made there is a considerable danger that institutions of higher education will revert to the practices which caused sex discrimination in the first place.

Generalization #1 - Women faculty members in colleges and universities suffered significant and inexcusable economic losses under an overt double standard of salary rewards up to 1970; progress has been made in rectifying the situation over the past five years but troublesome inequities still exist.

However satisfying it might be to academicians to argue that salary discrimination by sex in colleges and universities was never as serious a problem as it was painted, the facts belie the case. For example, Astin and Bayer noted that 28 percent of faculty men had a salary of less than $10,000 per year in contrast with 68 percent of women; conversely, only four percent of academic women were earning $17,000+ in contrast with 19

percent of men.[3] In attempting to account for the variance on the basis of rank, years of employment, field of specialization, etc., they still concluded:

> In sum, women clearly hold a lower status not only by virtue of some of their choices based on their interests, but also because of limitations imposed upon them by the system. When women make the same choices and enter the system as men do, they still do not make as much money.[4]

But hasn't the situation changed since 1970? Yes, of course it has. Yet the rate of change has been slower than most persons assume. In 1975-76 the director of the National Center for Educational Statistics reported that "the dollar gap between men's and women's salaries is now greater than in 1974-75 at all faculty ranks."[5] In 1976-77, however, NCES reported a slight gain by women faculty in contrast with men of 5.2 percent to 5.1 percent. The most significant gain was made at the full professor level where women's faculty salaries increased by 6.2 percent contrasted with 4.2 percent for men. It is significant to note that at all ranks from instructor to full professor, at all types of institutions from two-year colleges to universities, in both public and private institutions, there is only one instance in which the average salary for women faculty exceeded that for men, i.e., lecturers in private two-year colleges where the average salary for women in 1976-77 was $8,980 compared to $8,732 for men.[6]

Bayer and Astin attempted to assess the impact of affirmative action efforts on salary discrimination between 1968-69 and 1972-73 and found that the situation had improved at the junior ranks, i.e., through assistant professor, but persisted at the senior ranks, especially for full professors.[7] Using a regression equation obtained for male full professors, they concluded that:

> . . . the difference, $1,680, is the amount of underpayment in 1972-73 to women in high rank with characteristics statistically identical to men's in educational attainment, specialization, productivity and so forth.[8]

Tanur and Coser hypothesized that there are pockets of poverty among academic women which are related to three factors: length of service, rank and a larger proportion of females in the field. Their study of salaries at a single institution supported the hypothesis that the proportion of women in the field and rank are factors which are associated with lower salaries for women. They also found that the greater the number of the three predisposing factors which applied to a woman faculty member, the more likely her salary would be lower.[9]

Generalization #2 - Discrimination against women faculty in the university's reward system begins with the location, level and nature of the initial appointment. Women have received initial appointments at less prestigious institutions, lower academic ranks and with less challenging assignments.

Until very recently, the more prestigious universities practically ignored the recruitment of women. In 1967, for example, the average percentage of new women doctorates employed by all universities was 10.7 and by the most prestigious universities, 4.4 percent. By 1973, this situation had changed dramatically under the impetus of affirmative action programs. The employment of new women doctorates in the most prestigious institutions had increased from 4.4 to 27.8 percent.[10] This led Cartter and Ruhter to conclude: "Equity at the point of entry to the job market--a critically necessary first step--had apparently been achieved in the academic arena by 1973."[11]

That is apparently an overly optimistic assessment of the situation. A report issued in 1978 by the American Association of University Women suggested that while individual women have made progress, that progress has been very slow in general for women in academe. The AAUW collected data from a cross-section of colleges and universities. A major finding reported was that "25 percent of full-time faculty are women. This is NO increase from the 1970 national statistic which was also 25 percent."[12]

And even within the high prestige institutions, Carter and Ruhter's contention would only hold true if the condition of equity included similar ranks and appointments as well as employment at first rate universities. However, Reskin's study of the careers of doctoral chemists found that ". . . the women who began their careers in universities were located disproportionately in nontenure track positions, usually as research associates (62%, compared to 37% of the men)."[13] The Bayer survey (1972-73) reported that in university settings the work load for women faculty (albeit not restricted to new or recent appointees) showed a major and systematic prejudice in favor of male faculty in the area of research and scholarly writing; i.e., the university's "coin of the realm." Only 3.9 percent of the women reported that research was their principal activity in contrast with 9.5 percent of the men. Seventy percent of the women faculty reported less than five hours per week devoted to research and scholarly writing in contrast with 37.5 percent of the men faculty.[14] These latter data are, of course, accounted for to some extent by the paucity of women's appointments in university departments which make the largest allocations of faculty time to research, i.e., physical sciences.

Again, progress is worth noting. More recent women doctoral graduates have found appointments in prestigious universities accessible to them. However, their older colleagues who are still young professors did not, and are caught frequently in institutional settings in which their talents are not being fully employed. More recent appointees have also confronted less trouble in avoiding nontenure appointments and inordinate teaching and service loads, but many young women faculty are still suffering from the inequities of only a few years ago.

Generalization #3 - Women faculty members have been systematically discriminated against in attaining higher academic rank.

Study after study has demonstrated the underrepresentation of women at higher academic ranks. In 1972-73, Bayer reported that 40.9 percent of men in contrast with 12.3 percent of women in university settings hold full professorships. In contrast, 29 percent of the women in these institutions were instructors, lecturers or held no rank compared to 9.1 percent of the male faculty.[15]

These cumulative totals are made more dramatic when they are reduced to individual institutional analysis. In 1971, Robinson reviewed institutional reports for the ERIC Clearinghouse on Higher Education and noted from the Columbia University report:

> . . . well over 50 percent of the men who received their doctorate in 1961 or 1964 are associate professors; none of their female counterparts have been promoted to that position.[16]

This situation showed less susceptibility to change in the Bayer and Astin study than either salary or appointment to prestige institutions. In the 1972-73 update of the 1968-69 data, Bayer and Astin noted some modest improvement but concluded that:

> . . . even after we allow for a sizable number of other variables much of the differential in rank is still attributable to sex per se.[17]

The 1978 AAUW study reported that women continue to be clustered in the lower professional ranks:

Full professor	8%	Instructor	49%
Associate professor	16%	Lecturer	3%
Assistant professor	28%	Nonteaching	43%[18]

Generalization #4 - Women are less likely to hold tenured appointments than their male counterparts.

Based on her review of institutional reports, Robinson noted that the percentage of tenured male faculty ranged from 8 to 40 percent higher than the percentage of tenured female faculty. Universities showed the greatest differences with 52 percent of men and 35 percent of women tenured.[19]

The AAUW report stated that all faculty are being granted tenure in greater numbers despite retrenchment and discussions about abolishing tenure. The study found that women hold 18.5 percent of all tenured positions. This is a one-half percent increase over the period 1973-1976. In colleges enrolling less than 1,000 students, women hold 28 percent of tenured positions but in colleges enrolling over 10,000 students, women hold only 14 percent of tenured positions.[20]

Women hold the majority of part-time positions, instructorships and lectureships. Since few institutions offer tenure for these types of positions, the upward mobility of these women is limited.[21]

Summary

Women have not imagined the fact that they have not shared equally in the reward systems of colleges and universities. The evidence is overwhelming that prior to the press for affirmative action women faculty members were:

- more likely to be appointed to less prestigious colleges and universities.
- less likely to be appointed with higher academic ranks.
- more likely to be assigned heavy teaching and advising loads.
- less likely to have assigned time for research and scholarly publications.
- more likely to be appointed to nontenure track positions.
- less likely to be promoted.
- more likely to be appointed at a lower salary.
- less likely to receive sizeable salary increments.

Affirmative action programs have ameliorated this dismal situation to some extent. The effect is most obvious in the conditions of initial appointment over the past five years. The most disadvantaged group are the women appointed in the mid-1960's who are still suffering from lack of attention to their plight. Before colleges and universities congratulate themselves on the progress of the past few years, they should note that gross demographic data still indicate marked discrepancies in all the areas of disadvantage noted above.

* * * * * *

1. Can you think of ways to improve the working conditions for those women who received academic appointments prior to affirmative action? What factors other than salary need to be considered?

2. Are younger women faculty facing the same difficulties that their older women colleagues faced? Do you expect that the larger group of women assistant professors will move along through the ranks at the same pace as their male colleagues? What factors may hold them back?

3. In your experience, do women faculty at all ranks have teaching loads that are similar to those of their male colleagues? If not, what reasons have been offered for the differences?

FOOTNOTES

1. Reflections of a first year woman faculty member as reported in Marianne H. Mitchell, Martha M. McCarthy, Mary Anastasiow and David L. Clark, Women in Higher Education: A Casebook (School of Education, Indiana University, Equity for Women in Higher Education Project: Bloomington, Indiana), June, 1978, p. III-5.

2. Conversation between a woman faculty member and woman graduate student as reported in Marianne H. Mitchell, et al., ibid, II-5.

3. Helen S. Astin and Alan E. Bayer, "Sex Discrimination in Academe," Educational Record 53 (Spring 1972), p. 107.

4. Ibid., p. 110.

5. "Male College Faculty Increase Salary Lead Over Women," Report on Educational Research (October 6, 1976), p. 8.

6. "3 Economic Indicators for U.S. Higher Education," The Chronicle of Higher Education XIV (May 2, 1977), p. 5.

7. Alan E. Bayer and Helen S. Astin, "Sex Differentials in the Academic Reward System," Science 188 (May 23, 1975), p. 800.

8. Ibid.

9. Judith M. Tanur and Rose L. Coser, "Pockets of 'Poverty' in the Salaries of Academic Women," AAUP Bulletin 64 (March, 1978), p. 27-28.

10. Allan M. Cartter and Wayne E. Ruhter, The Disappearance of Sex Discrimination in First Job Placement of New Ph.D.'s (Los Angeles: Higher Education Research Institute, Research Report 75-1), p. 9.

11. Ibid., p. 23.

12. Suzanne Howard, But We Will Persist: A Comparative Research Report on the Status of Women in Academe (Washington, D.C.: American Association of University Women, 1978).

13. Barbara F. Reskin, Scientific Productivity, Sex, and Location in the Institution of Science, mimeographed (Indiana University: November 1976), p. 14.

14. Allan E. Bayer, "Teaching Faculty in Academe: 1972-73," ACE Research Reports 8 (August 1973), pp. 23-24.

15. Ibid., p. 23.

16. Lora H. Robinson, "Institutional Variation in the Status of Academic Women" in Academic Women on the Move (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973), p. 201.

17. Bayer and Astin, op. cit., p. 798.

18. Howard, op. cit.

19. Robinson, op. cit.

20. Howard, op. cit.

21. Ibid.

SOCIALIZATION OF WOMEN IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

> He took about two minutes per introduction summarizing our professional and work experience and formally welcoming us to MSU. I was incredulous when his first statement about me was (and I can quote with absolute accuracy): 'Professor Ann Adams comes to us as a specialist in organizational theory and as a living example of our commitment to affirmative action.' He thought that was clever and funny and so did the faculty.[1]

Socialization is a process through which the new member of a group learns, through formal and informal modes, the behaviors and attitudes which are expected of members of the group. As long as one remains a part of the community, the process continues. In this section attention will be focused on the unique ways in which the formal and informal socialization processes, alone, and in combination serve to define a limited professional life for academic women.

As noted in Figure 1, the process of socialization is both formal and structured as well as informal and continuous across a person's entire career.

FIGURE 1

STAGE OF SOCIALIZATION

Processes of Socialization	Pre-Employment (training)	Post-Employment (professional career development)
Formal	e.g., Selection	e.g., Promotion, tenure
Informal	e.g., Counseling	e.g., Collegiality

Generalization #1 - The range of career fields, professional options and aspirations of women are circumscribed by pre-employment education socialization processes.

The professional options open to women are curtailed at an early age. Course counseling in high school delimits and defines the career options for women. In a study of applicants to the University of California at Berkeley in 1972, Sells found that 57 percent of the men, but only 8 percent of the women, had completed high school math courses prerequisite to college majors such as business, economics, chemistry, physics and engineering. Commenting on this finding, Sells wrote:

> This forty-nine percentage point difference is a powerful measure of sex-role stereotypes which constrain the aspirations and motivations of students deciding which courses to take in high school, even as they constrain the kinds of advice counselors give students.[2]

National data show that 37 percent of girls and 59 percent of boys report completion of four or more years of high school math.[3]

Limited academic choices in high school lead directly to limited choices in college and graduate school. In a study of all students at seven University of California campuses, conducted by Hedges and Majer in 1976, it was found that there was a "significant negative correlation between female representation in academic majors and the number of math courses required for those majors."[4]

There are identifiable, established women's fields. Astin noted: "Out of twenty-six field categories, however, women (doctorates) constituted 10 percent or more of the pool in only sixteen specialized fields."[5] An examination of the report issued by the National Center for Educational Statistics on degrees awarded in 1975 shows an identical number of fields in which women earned 10 percent or more of the doctoral degrees awarded.[6]

Just as there is an obvious set of women's fields such as education, home economics and nursing, there are also identifiable women's specialties within fields. Women are more often found in anthropology, sociology and social work in the social sciences; in developmental and school psychology in psychology; in French, Spanish or German in the foreign languages; in chemistry in the physical sciences; and in general biology in the biological sciences.[7]

Generalization #2 - The cumulative effect of the formal socialization process after employment defines a role for the woman in the college and university which is an unsatisfying professional career for the high aspiring woman.

As the data about women in colleges and universities are examined ". . . one of the questions that arises is not 'Why are there so few successful professional women?', but rather, 'How have so many been able to survive the vicisitudes on each rung of the career ladder?'"[8]

Upon completion of the doctorate most women seek employment in colleges and universities.[9] Women doctorates who receive tenure track appointments are in positions roughly commensurate with their career goals as graduate students. As noted in Sections II and III of this monograph, the number of women obtaining such positions has remained relatively static over the last several years. Women who do obtain such appointments encounter problems with the formal socialization processes of colleges and universities involving promotion, tenure and salary which do not support their professional productivity.

The difficulties encountered in the formal socialization process also have a negative impact on the overall professional environment of women academics. Hollon and Gemmill, in a study of professors, found:

> . . . female teaching faculty members report significantly less perceived participation in decision-making, lower levels of job involvement and overall job satisfaction, and a higher level of job related tension than their male counterparts.[10]

Women are often appointed to positions referred to as "marginal, 'soft-line', irregular, nonladder, part-time, exceptional or fringe."[11] The 1978 study by the AAUW reports that 49 percent of instructors and 37 percent of lecturers are women.[12] The psychological consequences for women appointed to such positions were noted in reports released by Harvard and Yale. "The restriction of women to marginal appointments outside of the 'real' system is likely to lead to feelings of inferiority and isolation on the part of the women in these positions."[13] "Although the appointment may continue for a number of years the continued uncertainty and ambiguity of (the) position(s) are not conducive to planning and conducting research."[14]

Commenting on the professional achievement of women in academia under the conditions discussed here, Schwartz stated:

> Barriers to the professional achievement of women have traditionally been so high that those who surmounted them must be characterized as superwomen. . . . We must concentrate on the obstacles society has placed in the path of the general population of women and explore new ways to overcome them.[15]

Many talented and competent women are discouraged in a myriad of ways from completing the doctorate or becoming full contributing members of the academic community. This is a tremendous loss. Serious efforts should be made to insure that women are provided with the same set of options as men and that the requisite support is available to them.

<u>Generalization #3</u> - <u>Informal socialization of women in colleges and universities reinforces stereotypic personal and professional roles</u>.

"'She thinks like a man!' --the highest accolade a male faculty member can bestow on a woman science student, is received with mixed feelings by the young woman who both prizes and questions her apparent deviance."[16] In many overt and covert ways women students and faculty are told that they are different, somehow not appropriate to the roles they aspire to or currently fill.

Hochschild describes the professional woman as ". . . the cutting edge of the female minority group. . . . Like other marginal peoples, she is not totally rejected, but partially rejected."[17] In a study of groups in which either sex was in the distinct minority, Kanter observed that in the case of women:

> The dominant group (group in the majority - men) can incorporate tokens (group in the minority - women) and still preserve their generalizations about the tokens' kind by inducting them into stereotypical roles; these roles preserve the familiar form of interaction between the kinds of people represented by the token and the dominants.[18]

This observation can be used to explain expectations on the part of men in colleges and universities that women graduate students are not serious; women faculty do not do scholarly research; women faculty prefer teaching to research; women are not committed; married women faculty will move according to the dictates of their husbands' careers; married women put family needs ahead of the demands of the profession. All of these expectations are based on stereotypes which have been shaken or disproved by recent empirical studies on women in colleges and universities, as discussed in the earlier sections of this monograph.

Research on women doctorates has suggested that married women doctorates are treated less equitably than single women or married men. Astin and Bayer note ". . . that there are strong pressures for the academic woman to

act as if she were sexless, family-less, and childless to gain acceptance."[19] "Professional honors, higher salary and rank are slightly but significantly more likely to be awarded to single than to married women."[20] "Married women tend significantly more often than single women to perceive unequal opportunity for women in their departments."[21] "Taken together, these data suggest that married women experience greater difficulty in being taken seriously than do single women."[22]

Generalization #4 - The isolation of women in the informal socialization network in colleges and universities aggravates the difficulties for the woman who is attempting to avoid stereotypic roles.

The minority status of women as faculty has been noted in earlier sections. In addition to being in the minority on the faculty as a whole, women are frequently the lone representative of their sex within a department. They are, in effect, isolated from persons who have had experiences similar to their own in developing an academic career. This, too, can have an effect on the woman academic.

Anderson suggests that successful isolated women remain committed to their careers in spite of the conditions under which they work because of ". . . their capacity to function in an emotionally autonomous way. By this capacity I mean a person's ability to provide positive feedback to oneself when the environment is indifferent or oppositional."[23]

Some responses by women to their isolation in the informal socialization network are less positive. Some women react by attempting to continuously prove that they are qualified. They overacheive.[24] They become involved in their professional life to the exclusion of other facets of life. Patterson documents other reactions: "Some simply accept what they see as the inevitable, while others conform as a consciously chosen compensating

strategy, entering 'more appropriate' specialties as a means of achieving greater acceptance from their colleagues."[25]

Others recognizing and accepting singular minority group status turn their loyalties to their male colleagues on whom they depend for survival. These women join in the negative socialization of other women. As Kanter says, ". . . the price of being 'one of the boys' is a willingness to turn occasionally against 'the girls'".

In sum, the isolation of women in the informal socialization network:

> . . . may exclude them from situations in which important learning about a task is taking place and may also prevent them from being in a position to look good in the organization. Performance pressures make it more dangerous for (women) to fumble and thus give them less room for error. Responding to their position, they often either underachieve or overachieve, and they are likely to accept distorting roles which permit them to disclose only limited parts of themselves.[27]

Summary

The formal and informal socialization of women as pre-professionals and as professionals combine to produce attenuated career aspirations and professional lives for many academically gifted women. These outcomes are exaggerated for the married woman doctorate. Academic women are:

- less likely to complete necessary pre-college academic training which would afford them greater flexibility in subsequent academic decisions.
- more likely to be clustered in women's fields.
- less likely to feel involvement in decisionmaking.
- more likely to receive marginal appointments.
- less likely to be satisfied with their academic appointment.
- more likely to be subject to perceptions based on stereotypes rather than on productivity.

. less likely to be able to develop collegial relations with other faculty of similar age and interest.

. more likely to confront personal professional isolation.

* * * * * *

1. What kinds of informal practices have you experienced or witnessed which teach women that a different or lesser level of performance is expected of them? Can you think of ways to stop these practices or ways to negate their effects?

2. Does your institution maintain any formal regulations which effectively classify women differently? In what areas?

3. How can older women faculty benefit from the newly enlightened institutional environment? How can they, in effect, be resocialized in the institutions adjusted expectations for women faculty?

FOOTNOTES

1. Recollections of a woman faculty member in the School of Business at MSU, as reported in, Marianne H. Mitchell, Martha M. McCarthy, Mary Anastasiow and David L. Clark, Women in Higher Education: A Casebook, "Professional Socialization" (School of Education, Indiana University, Equity for Women in Higher Education Project: Bloomington, Indiana), June, 1978, p. III-2.

2. Luch W. Sells, "Sex and Discipline Differences in Professional Socialization," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Washington, D.C., 1975, p. 20.

3. College Entrance Examination Board, College Bound Seniors, 1973-74, Evanston, Illinois, 1974 Table 4.

4. Larry V. Hedges and Kenneth Majer, "Female and Minority Representation in College Majors as a Function of Mathematics Requirements," University of California--San Diego (January 1976), ED 123 979, p. 8.

5. Helen S. Astin, "Career Profiles of Women Doctorates" in Academic Women on the Move (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973), p. 142.

6. "Fact-File: Degrees Awarded in Various Fields, 1975," The Chronicle of Higher Education XIII (November 29, 1976), p. 8.

7. Michelle Patterson, "Sex and Specialization in Academe and the Professions" in Academic Women on the Move (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973), p. 321-328.

8. Dorothy Zinberg, "College: When the Future Becomes the Present" in Women and Success (New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc., 1973), p. 129.

9. Helen S. Astin, The Woman Doctorate in America (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969), p. 70.

10. Charles J. Hollon and Gary Gemmill, "A Comparison of Female and Male Professors on Participation in Decision-Making, Job Related Tension, Job Involvement, and Job Satisfaction," Educational Administration Quarterly 12 (Winter 1976), p. 85.

11. Lora H. Robinson, "Institutional Variation in the Status of Academic Women" in Academic Women on the Move (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973), p. 212.

12. Suzanne Howard, But We Will Persist: A Comparative Research Report on the Status of Women in Academe (Washington, D.C.: American Association of University Women, 1978).

13. Robinson, op. cit., p. 213.

14. Ibid., p. 213.

15. Felice N. Schwartz, "Women and Employers: Their Related Needs and Attitudes" in Women and Success (New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc., 1974), p. 178.

16. Zinberg, op. cit., p. 134.

17. Arlie Hochschild, "Making It: Marginality and Obstacles to Minority Consciousness" in Women and Success (New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc., 1974), p. 196.

18. Rosabath Moss Kanter, "Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women," American Journal of Sociology 82 (March 1977), p. 981.

19. Helen S. Astin and Alan E. Bayer, "Sex Discrimination in Academe," Educational Record 53 (Spring 1972), p. 114.

20. Marianne A. Ferber and Jane W. Loeb, "Performance, Rewards, and Perceptions of Sex Discrimination Among Male and Female Faculty," American Journal of Sociology 78 (July-August 1972), p. 996.

21. Ibid., p. 997.

22. Ibid., p. 1000.

23. Jane V. Anderson, "Psychological Determinants" in Women and Success (New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc., 1974), p. 201.

24. Kanter, op. cit., p. 974.

25. Patterson, op. cit., p. 330.

26. Kanter, op. cit., p. 979.

27. Ibid., p. 987.

ADMINISTRATIVE OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

- You've never been a department chairperson. How are you going to compete against other candidates who have been?
- Hey, Diane, I thought a dean for administration had to balance the school's budget--can you handle your checkbook better than my wife?[1]

Many of the barriers confronting women entrants to positions in higher education administration derive from stereotyped expectations about women's skills and behaviors. Access to lower administrative positions has been severely limited for women. Access to upper level positions is curtailed currently because women lack requisite prior administrative experience. This double bind which constrains women who aspire to responsible administrative positions in colleges and universities is considered in the following set of generalizations.

Generalization #1 - The proportion of women in administrative positions has traditionally been smaller than their representation among the faculty in colleges and universities. This phenomenon has characterized formally designated administrative positions and committee appointments.

In 1970, women composed approximately 19 percent of the full-time faculty in colleges and universities.[2] Loeb and Ferber in a study completed in 1971, documented the participation of women in administration at the Urbana-Champaign campus of the University of Illinois. Their findings are illustrative of the participation of women in various facets of administration:

> Of the deans, heads, chairmen, directors and coordinators of colleges, departments, offices and other administrative units, their assistants (excluding assistants to) and associates, only seven percent were female. Only four of the more than 85 departments were administered by women. None of the colleges had

> even one female dean. Since four percent of the full professors and nine percent of the associate professors were women, it is clear that women were underrepresented in administrative posts. Finally, it should be noted that the staffs of the chancellor and president were exclusively male.[3]

The low level of participation by women in administration extends to their representation on college and university committees. Oltman reports that women ". . . are less likely to be represented on committees for guidance, scholarships, judicial problems, long-range planning, institutional research, admissions, educational or advisory policy, or to be advisors to campus organizations."[4] Loeb and Ferber also report that the ". . . representation of women on committees was not proportional to their numbers on the faculty."[5]

The proportion of women on college and university faculties had risen to 20.6 percent by 1972-73.[6] The participation rate of women in administration was not nearly as high. It is interesting to note that examination of ACE data reported in 1972-73 indicates that women comprised 10.9 percent of the administration in universities and 19.6 percent in four-year colleges. Overall, the proportion of women in administration in colleges and universities was 15.6 percent in 1972-73.[7] However, on a less optimistic note, Robinson has reported that:

> In fifteen reports covering twenty-nine schools . . . Fourteen of the twenty-nine schools reported women's participation rate in administration below 7 percent.[8]

A 1975-76 survey of 52 administrative posts in colleges and universities, conducted by the College and University Personnel Association (CUPA), found:

> The large majority of people holding the 52 administrative positions studied were white men. White men held about 79 percent of the administrative positions at the survey institutions, white women held 14 percent, minority men held 5 percent and minority women under 2 percent.[9]

Generalization #2 - The higher the administrative position, the smaller the representation of women.

In a 1970 study of 454 institutional members of the American Association of University Women, Oltman documented the restrictions on women's participation in upper level administrative posts:

> Of the coeducational campuses surveyed, . . . 93 to 98 percent employed only men in the positions of president, vice president, director of development, and business manager during the past three years; 82 percent have placed only men in the positions of dean of students, director of counseling, and college physician; 72 to 79 percent placed only men in the positions of associate or assistant academic dean, academic dean, director of placement, and director of financial aid.[10]

The 1975-76 survey by CUPA documented the slow rate at which women are entering administrative posts. Basically, it was found that administrative employment patterns differed substantially by race and sex and that the percentages of jobs held by women and minorities tended to decrease as salaries increased, except at women's colleges and minority institutions.[11]

The College and University Personnel Association survey grouped the 52 administrative posts studied into five functional classifications for analytic purposes. They report the following based on this analysis:

> At white coeducational institutions and white men's colleges (both public and private), white men dominated all five categories of positions, holding at least 96 percent of the chief executive positions and approximately 80 percent of the positions in administrative affairs, academic affairs, student affairs, and external affairs.[12]

> At women's colleges, white men held more than two-thirds of the chief executive positions and the top-level positions in administrative affairs. . . .[13]

The 1977 study of women in academe, conducted by the American Association of University Women (AAUW), reports that the proportion of women in top-level administrative posts has increased but women are still underrepresented.

	Percent of women	Percent change since 1973-74
President	6	No gain
Chief Academic Officer	12	3 percent increase
Chief Business Officer	5	No gain
Chief Development Officer	8	2 percent increase[14]

The AAUW study also note that "women hold 18 percent of all deanships but one third of the institutions surveyed have no women in deanships.[15]

In a study of women presidents, vice presidents, provosts and chancellors conducted in 1977, Vance found that 60 percent of the respondents had been promoted to their present position from within the same institution.[16] This suggests that women must be very well known to the academic community in which they attain a top administrative post prior to being selected for the position.

Generalization #3 - Colleges and universities maintain de facto women's fields in administration, i.e., 1) student personnel administrators; 2) women's affairs or affirmative action administrators; and 3) staff rather than line administrative positions.

Graham points out that most often, "the top women administrator in most American coeducational colleges and universities is the dean of women,

now often styled 'Associate Dean of Students.'"[17] Vance reports that 30 percent of the respondents in the study of women in top administrative positions held the position of vice president for student affairs, the largest percentage in any single administrative role.[18] Both the CUPA and AAUW studies arrived at a similar description of the typical administrative post held by women. CUPA describes women's administrative role in the following way:

> Women and minorities were generally best represented in positions relating to student affairs and external affairs, holding from 10 to 20 percent of such jobs at white coeducational institutions and men's colleges, over 25 percent at public and over 80 percent at private women's colleges, and from 90 to 100 percent at minority institutions.[19]

The AAUW report states:

> As was true in the 1970 study, more women hold positions as student health director, counselor, librarian, personnel director, and now EEO officer, and other positions related to student services and external affairs.[20]

CUPA summarized its findings as follows:

> Job concentration of women (both white and minority) tended to be much greater than that of white men and somewhat greater than that of minority men. Of the white women employed as academic administrators at white coeducational institutions in the public sector, for instance, close to half worked in only seven of the 52 positions: Head librarian, Nursing dean, Bookstore manager, Registrar, Student financial aid director, Home economics dean, and Information office director.[21]

New administrative positions have evolved at colleges and universities since the early seventies, i.e., affirmative action officer and dean for women's affairs. One would expect to find only women in the latter position. The CUPA study reports:

> The affirmative action/equal employment officer was the only position included in the survey which had a sizeable representation of all four sex and race groups. White men held 20 percent of the positions, minority men 33 percent, white women 31 percent, and minority women 16 percent.[22]

Interestingly, men who served as affirmative action officers were paid more than women who held this post.[23]

Robinson introduces a further caveat about women in administration:

> . . . administrative titles can be misleading, since women rarely are in positions of 'real decision-making authority.' For example, at Purdue University 215 women and 527 men were classified as administrators. . . . Forty-three (women) were classified as administrative officers, the majority of whom serve in the residence hall kitchens, and the remaining 172 were administrative assistants.[24]

Summary and Conclusions

The appointment of women to major administrative positions in higher education can be characterized as a breakthrough by individual women faculty members rather than a change in the institutional norm. Up to this point the remedies have not fit the illness. Affirmative action recruitment and appointment procedures for top administrative positions have not increased the number of qualified women since the prior denial of entry level experience to women has resulted in few women having the requisite qualifications to enter a wide range of more responsible administrative positions.

If the situation is to change, institutions of higher education must assume initiative in the development of new cohorts of qualified women administrators. Internship programs must be initiated to provide administrative experience for new women doctorates and women who wish to pursue administrative careers. Opportunities should be actively sought to appoint women faculty to entry level administrative positions and to

significant committee and commission assignments which will allow women to build up appropriate administrative experiences.

* * * * * *

1. Does the situation on your campus reflect that reported here? If not, how does it differ?

2. How are administrative appointments made on your campus? Do all persons selected have significant prior administrative experience? Do you think this is necessary?

FOOTNOTES

1. Recollected remarks of faculty colleagues by a woman professor of Science Education as reported in Marianne H. Mitchell, Martha M. McCarthy, Mary Anastasiow and David L. Clark, Women in Higher Education: A Case Book, "Administrative Opportunities for Women Faculty," (School of Education, Indiana University, Equity for Women in Higher Education Project: Bloomington, Indiana), June, 1978, p. V-2.

2. Yearbook of Higher Education (Chicago: Marquis Academic Media, 1971-72).

3. Jane W. Loeb and Marianne A. Ferber, "Representation, Performance, and Status of Women on the Faculty at the Urbana-Champaign Campus of the University of Illinois" in Academic Women on the Move (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973), p. 244.

4. Ruth M. Oltman, "Campus 1970--Where Do Women Stand?" American Association of University Women Journal 64 (November 1970), p. 14.

5. Loeb and Ferber, op. cit., p. 243.

6. Yearbook of Higher Education (Chicago: Marquis Academic Media, 1975-76).

7. Alan E. Bayer, "Teaching Faculty in Academe: 1972-73," ACE Research Reports 8 (August 1973), p. 23.

8. Lora H. Robinson, "Institutional Variation in the Status of Academic Women" in Academic Women on the Move (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973), p. 223.

9. Carol Van Alstyne, et al., 1975-76 Administrative Compensation Survey: Women and Minorities in Administration of Higher Education Institutions (Washington, D.C.: College and University Personnel Association, June, 1977), p. 2.

10. Oltman, op. cit., p. 14.

11. Van Alstyne, op. cit., p. 11.

12. Ibid., p. 9.

13. Ibid., p. 9.

14. Suzanne Howard, But We Will Persist: A Comparative Research Report on the Status of Women in Academe (Washington, D.C.: American Association of University Women, 1978).

15. Ibid.

16. Carmen L. Vance, Comparison of the Career Development of Women Executives in Institutions of Higher Education With Corporate Women Executives, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, 1978.

17. Patricia A. Graham, "Women in Academic Life" in Academic Women on the Move (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1973), p. 170.

18. Vance, op. cit.

19. Van Alstyne, op. cit., p. 9.

20. Howard, op. cit.

21. Van Alstyne, op. cit., p. 9.

22. Ibid., p. 10.

23. Ibid., p. 11.

24. Robinson, op. cit., p. 224.

RESPONSES OF WOMEN TO DISCRIMINATORY BEHAVIOR IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

> If you feel that you need to discuss this matter further with me, I will be willing to do so. Also, as you may know, the college has a Faculty Discriminatory Practices Committee appointed by our faculty senate to hear cases of alleged discrimination. That route is, of course, open to you if you desire to pursue this matter further.[1]

There are a variety of responses to discriminatory behavior open to women. Each discriminatory incident, whether informal or formal, forces the woman to choose from among these options. Her decision involves an implicit or explicit assessment of the gains and losses, both personal and professional, associated with confronting the person or institution responsible for the discriminatory action or letting the incident go unchallenged. In this section the responses available to women and the consequences of various responses will be considered.

Generalization #1 - Most male faculty members and administrators and many women faculty still assume that the ideal behavior mode for women in colleges and universities is both ladylike and professional.

The common definitions of "ladylike" and "professional" are antithetical and a source of constant difficulty for academic women particularly under situations of stress provoked by discriminatory behavior. Recent research on sex role stereotypes and characteristics associated with mental health provides some insight into the incompatibility of the definitions of the ladylike and professional roles. In a study of sex role stereotypes and judgments of mental health, Broverman, et al. found:

> The clinicians' concepts of a healthy, mature man do not differ significantly from their concept of a healthy adult. However, the clinicians' concepts of a mature healthy woman do differ significantly from their adult health concepts. Clinicians are significantly less likely to attribute traits which characterize healthy adults to a woman than they are likely to attribute these traits to a healthy man.[2]

They go on to state that ". . . we see the judgments of our sample of clinicians as merely reflecting the sex role stereotypes, and the differing valuations of these stereotypes, prevalent in our society."[3]

The feminine pole of the 11 female-valued items on the sex role scale used by Broverman, et al. includes the following items: "very talkative; very tactful; very gentle; very aware of feelings of others; very quiet; very strong need of security; and easily expresses tender feelings."[4] Men are expected to exhibit characteristics opposite to these. There are 27 male-valued items in the scale. The feminine pole of these items includes the following: "not at all aggressive; not at all independent; very emotional; very submissive; very excitable in a minor crisis; very passive; feelings easily hurt; has difficulty making decisions; very uncomfortable about being aggressive. . ."[5]

This study was replicated among educators from all levels, elementary through college and university faculty members, by Garman and Plant. They report findings comparable to those cited above:

> . . . educators are significantly less likely to attribute characteristics which describe mature adults to a woman than they are likely to attribute these characteristics to a man; and . . . female educators, while also describing women as somewhat less than mature adults, nevertheless do see women as coming significantly closer to the adult standard than do male educators.[6]

The sex role stereotypes documented in these studies describe a set of expectations for women which pose difficulties for the woman academic, and which are exacerbated when she is faced with a situation she feels she must challenge. When the woman academic becomes the victim of discriminatory behavior the "ladylike" stereotype causes most ameliorative responses to this behavior to be considered inappropriate, especially by her male colleagues and superordinates.

Generalization #2 - The most difficult aspect of discriminatory behavior toward women in colleges and universities is the least discussed, i.e., the daily subtle and overt discriminatory personal interactions to which there are a limited set of responses, all of which have some negative tradeoffs when they are employed.

> How old are you anyway? Do you think a girl like you could handle a job like this? You don't look like the academic type.
>
> Why don't you find a rich husband and give all this up?[7]

Frequently these types of comments are made casually or "jokingly." Their effect is to put the woman academic on the defensive and to nurture hostility and/or frustration. She resents being referred to as a girl. She resents having her ability questioned. She resents suggestions that feminity is inconsistent with competence but she is trapped by the limitations of the ladylike role which she knows she is expected to publicly maintain while fulfilling her academic duties.

The kinds of comments cited above do not fall under legal definitions of discriminatory behavior. The woman must find a way to deal with them on her own and usually on the spot. Her choices are limited. The most obvious option, avoidance of confrontation, has consequences for the woman, i.e., apparent sanctioning of the comment, unrelieved frustration,

and likely repetition of the incident. Kanter describes the common consequences of a woman's decision to confront the person making such comments:

> If a token (woman) insisted on full rights in the group, if she displayed competence in a forthright manner, or if she cut off sexual innuendos, she was typically asked, 'You're not one of those women's libbers, are you?' Regardless of the answer, she was henceforth viewed with suspicion, treated with undue and exaggerated politeness (by references to women inserted into conversations, by elaborate rituals of not opening doors), and kept at a distance; for she was demanding treatment as an equal in a setting in which no person of her kind had previously been an equal.[8]

The reactions described by Kanter are so frequently encountered by women who protest discriminatory remarks or acts that these women become more and more reticent about doing so. Eventually, many are pressured into the non-response mode of ignoring the discrimination if they wish to survive as an individual and as a professional.

Academic women are caught in a vicious circle when dealing with everyday discriminatory personal interactions. No matter which response is chosen, the most frequent effect is personal frustration or degradation.

Generalization #3 - Because of legislative mandates, formal routes to appeal instances of discriminatory behavior affecting the welfare of women in colleges and universities have been developed in most higher education institutions.

> The Higher Education Guidelines issued by HEW in October 1972 urged 'the development of grievance procedures for all employees, academic and non-academic alike,' but did not require them. The Title IX regulations approved by the White House in May, 1975, went further and required grievance procedures without specifying their details.[9]

Many colleges and universities have long had established grievance procedures for faculty members. In recent years procedures for non-academic employees have been developed by many institutions. The Carnegie Council reports that there are formal steps which are common to almost all procedures which they have studied:

> The first step consists of an informal approach to the head of the department or other employment unit, while the second step consists of the filing of a formal complaint in writing with that same individual. If the complainant is not satisfied with the results of these first two steps, he or she may then file a complaint with the chief campus officer or with some other high administrative official. In some cases the complaint is to be filed with an affirmative action officer.[10]

In addition to internal grievance procedures there are external remedies available to a complainant. Most urge employees to exhaust all internal remedies prior to filing complaints with federal agencies but this is not legally required. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 covers educational institutions and forbids discrimination in employment. Title VII applies to all institutions, public or private, whether or not they receive federal funds and is enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).[11] Complaints can also be filed under the Equal Pay Act of 1963:

> In the Educational Amendments of 1973 there is a little noted section that extends the coverage of the Equal Pay Act of 1963 to executive, administrative and professional employees, including all faculty . . . it is enforced by the Wage and Hour Division of the Employment Standards Administration of the Department of Labor. . . .[12]

Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972 was implemented in 1975. Under Title IX:

> No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance. . . . All institutions, whether public or private, that receive federal monies by way of a grant, loan, or contract . . . are covered . . . HEW's Office for Civil Rights (is) the enforcement agency.[13]

These current, external, legal remedies may, however, involve the complainant in substantial delays and further legal problems. For example, at present there is a backlog of about 100,000 complaints of sex discrimination under Title VII waiting for HEW action. The vitality of Title IX as a legal tool in employment discrimination cases has been challenged in Cannon v. University of Chicago, where the Seventh Circuit Court of Appeals held that individuals do not have a private right to sue under Title IX—a ruling which is, itself, being appealed.[14]

Generalization #4 - While the formal grievance procedures open to women faculty have been defined by law, actually using them is a difficult choice for the individual who has a complaint of discrimination. Formal grievance procedures frequently result in Pyrrhic victories for the complainant.

Pendergass, et al. point out that:

> In the best of all possible worlds, one should be able to solve life's problems, including sex discrimination in employment, by means of a friendly little chat.[15]

However, many women have found that complaints about formal institutional discrimination are not solved during these conversations. The woman must then decide whether she should begin formal grievance procedures. Pendergass, et al. note that "more often, a woman decides to fight back after she comes to the terrible recognition that she has nothing to lose."[16] Joan Abramson described the process she went through in deciding to appeal a departmental tenure decision:

> When the departmental tenure decision was made in December, 1970, I had three and one-half years behind me as a fairly quiet instructor. I did not have a reputation as a fighter of causes . . . I figured that an appeal of the departmental recommendation . . . would probably take a long and grueling six months. I decided that it was worth it and that I could not live quietly with myself if I let the departmental judgment rest unchallenged.[17]

After embarking on the formal grievance process, a woman encounters reactions from several sources. The institution tends to respond through the use of secrecy:

> Up until now the courts have upheld the rule of confidentiality in college personnel decisions, . . . how do employees cope with this sort of activity?[18]

Delay is another tactic:

> The woman's case bounces from department chair to administrator, dean, committees, affirmative action officers, back to committees, and so on.[19]

Women who file formal complaints of sex discrimination also must face the reactions of their colleagues, which are often negative or at best, neutral.

> In taking discrimination action, frequently the woman is considered at least odd if not downright obnoxious. In addition to the stress of the discrimination action, women may be very lonely.[20]

Abramson defines a first natural law of discrimination complaints:

> . . . when charges of discrimination are made, many men automatically locate the problem with the woman who has made the charges, not with the system nor with any of the circumstances in which they themselves might have played some role . . . This common analysis shifts the problem from institutions to individuals. It thereby eliminates the need to reexamine institutions.[21]

The observation is supported by Campbell, a grievance counselor, who adds to it:

> At this point I'd like to bring up one problem that is seldom mentioned, the impact of males on males. When matters of discrimination, especially sex discrimination, occur, it is seldom admitted that such a thing could exist; therefore excuses are immediately found to explain what happened. There is almost a catholic repugnance in the male community when the problem is raised, directed not only at the women complaining but also at any man who agrees with them, and, ironically, this reaction takes place before the evidence is heard.[22]

The choice of filing a formal complaint of discrimination is clearly a difficult one which places the woman in conflict with the college or university and her colleagues. She pays a high emotional price and suffers consequences in her professional career whether she wins or loses the case. As Sandler has noted: "Unless women band together and protest as a group it is virtual academic suicide to protest sex discrimination on practically all campuses."[23] It is difficult to remain at an institution even if you have 'won' after having been involved in a battle over discriminatory practices. The formal grievance process, like more informal measures, is often a no-win situation for women in colleges and universities.

Summary

The responses to discriminatory behavior available to women in colleges and universities present a diverse set of difficulties for the individual who must decide among them. The problems encountered fall into three categories.

1. Conceptual - Women are burdened by the "ladylike" stereotype which causes most ameliorative responses to discriminatory behavior to be considered inappropriate, especially by their male colleagues and superordinates.

2. Human - Women who protest individual or institutional discriminatory acts often endure both personal and professional isolation as a result.

3. Technical - While formal internal and external channels do exist for challenging institutional discrimination, the procedures which must be utilized by the individual are often unwieldy. In addition, the length of time required for the resolution of a complaint of discrimination is frequently inordinate.

* * * * * *

1. How can persons who inadvertently make remarks or perform actions which are interpreted as discriminatory be enlightened about the effect of their behavior?

2. Do you think women are too sensitive about the more subtle forms of discrimination described here? Have you ever been involved in a situation where you feel the woman overreacted? How would you have handled it?

3. Formal grievance procedures are apparently difficult for everyone involved. What kinds of things do you think can be done to improve these procedures? How do they work on your campus? Do you know anyone who tried to use them? What was their experience?

FOOTNOTES

1. Incident reported by a woman faculty member at Metropolitan State University as reported in Marianne H. Mitchell, Martha M. McCarthy, Mary Anastasiow and David L. Clark, Women in Higher Education: A Casebook (School of Education, Indiana University, Equity for Women in Higher Education Project: Bloomington, Indiana), June, 1978, p. VII-3.

2. Inge K. Broverman, "Sex-Role Stereotypes and Clinical Judgments of Mental Health," Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology 34 (February 1970), p. 5.

3. Ibid., p. 6.

4. Ibid., p. 3.

5. Ibid., p. 3.

6. Lynne G. Garman and Walter T. Plant, "Sex-Role Stereotypes and Educators' Descriptions of Mature Personality," paper presented at the annual convention of the Western Psychological Association, San Francisco, California (April 1974), ED 109 519, p. 8.

7. Ann S. Harris, "The Second Sex in Academe" in Women and Education (Springfield, Illinois: Charles C. Thomas, Publisher, 1975), p. 165.

8. Rosabeth Moss Kanter, "Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women," American Journal of Sociology 82 (March 1977), p. 984.

9. The Carnegie Foundation, Making Affirmative Action Work in Higher Education (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975), p. 188.

10. Ibid., p. 182.

11. Bernice Sandler, "Sex Discrimination, Educational Institutions, and the Law: A New Issue on Campus," Journal of Law-Education 2 (October 1973), p. 620.

12. Ibid., p. 621.

13. Ibid., p. 623.

14. Cannon v. University of Chicago, 14 EPD 7521 (7th Cir. 1976).

15. Virginia E. Pendergass, Ellen Kimmel, Joan Joesting, Joyce Peterson and Endilee Bush, "Sex Discrimination Counseling," American Psychologist 31 (January 1976), p. 36.

16. Ibid., p. 37.

17. Joan Abramson, The Invisible Woman: Discrimination in the Academic Profession (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1975), p. 21.

18. Claude Campbell, "Peer Judgment and the Rule of Confidentiality" in Unladylike and Unprofessional: Academic Women and Academic Unions (Modern Language Association Committee on the Status of Women, January 1975), p. 26.

19. Pendergass, Kimmel, Joesting, Peterson, and Bush, op. cit., p. 38.

20. Ibid., p. 43.

21. Abramson, op. cit., p. 105.

22. Campbell, op. cit., p. 24.

23. E. Green, et al., Discrimination Against Women, Hearings before the Special Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, House of Representatives, Ninety-First Congress, Second Session, on Section 805 of HR 16098 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970), p. 302.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS CONFRONTING MINORITY WOMEN IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

All women in colleges and universities are affected to some extent by the conditions, stereotypes and discrimination discussed in the preceding sections. There are, however, subgroups of academic women who because of the combination status which they represent, must cope with difficulties above and beyond those already considered. Among these subgroups are American Indians, Puerto Ricans, Mexican Americans, Asian and black women.

The condition of these various subgroups in colleges and universities has received little formal attention either through research or action programs. The small amounts of data that are available suggest that these women encounter institutional policies and stereotyped beliefs which serve to make their full participation in colleges and universities as students, faculty, administrators or other employees difficult if not impossible.

In the following pages the status of minority women in colleges and universities will be considered. Little empirical data exist on any of these subgroups of minority women, but there is relatively more on black women. Therefore the bulk of the citations will document conditions as they affect this minority group.

Generalization #1 - Minority group women are generally less apt to complete high school and each succeeding level of education.

The Racism/Sexism Resource Center reported the percent of black and white males and females 18 to 24 years of age who were enrolled in college in 1973.

Males 18 - 24		Females 18 - 24	
Black	White	Black	White
19%	29%	14%	21%[1]

The Project on the Status and Education of Women reported in 1977 that black women have the highest college dropout rate of any group. Including data from two year colleges, 65 percent of all black female college students dropped out of school in the 1970-1975 period. This compared to dropout rates of 52 percent for black males and 48 percent and 39 percent respectively, for white females and males.[2]

A report in American Education in May 1977, stated:

> In 1974, approximately 75 percent of black women had completed high school compared with 85 percent of white women. Although there was a 56 percent increase in college enrollment of blacks between 1970 and 1974, only 16 percent of black women were enrolled in college at the end of that period. A college degree is attained by only 7.6 percent of black women.[3]

This same report cited the high school and college completion rates for three other groups of minority women. Puerto Rican women completed an average of 9.5 years of school, 25 percent graduated from high school and only three percent completed college. Chicanos completed an average of nine years of school, 23 percent completed high school, and 2.2 percent of those 25 years or older had completed college. Among American Indians, 6.2 percent of women and 5.8 percent of men had finished eight years of schooling. Women in general completed a median of 10.5 years of school and 34.6 percent had graduated from high school.[4]

Enrollment in college for minority women is affected by numerous factors, among them race and sex discrimination. A study by Walster, et al., on the effect of race and sex on college admission documented

the interacting impact of race and sex on black women. Both black and white high ability women were accepted at a rate equivalent to that of high ability men. Among medium and low ability male and female applicants, black women were the least preferred.[5] Walster, et al., noted that overall:

> The data certainly provide no support for the notion that American colleges are actively recruiting Negro scholars. The sex effect was in the predicted direction. Males were preferred over females . . .[6]

Generalization #2 - Minority women are isolated on the basis of both race and sex in colleges and universities.

Over 50 percent of black women enrolled in college in the fall of 1973 were enrolled in black colleges.[7] One can assume that these women were in a supportive racial environment but were likely to encounter sex stereotyping which affects women college students in general. Black women who are enrolled in predominantly white colleges and universities:

> . . . have few role models with whom to identify in developing healthy self concepts. The great majority of their professors are white men, or, if they take black studies courses, black men.[8]

Willie and Levy noted that "while nearly all black on white campuses often feel isolated and confined, it is the black women who feel it most heavily . . ."[9]

A conference on minority women in science held in 1975 considered some of the difficulties encountered by these women as students:

> Most found college work considerably more challenging than secondary schools, but well within the range of their abilities. Exclusion from informal study groups, usually all male and/or majority, made their pursuit of academic excellence difficult.[10]

In addition:

> The choice of a science major, whether in a majority or minority college, served to separate these minority women from same-gender, coethnic peers . . . While this isolation existed at both the graduate and undergraduate levels, in the experience of most conferees it became progressively worse the farther they went.[11]

Generalization #3 - Minority women have very little likelihood of completing an advanced degree.

A Survey of Black American Doctorates conducted in 1969 by Bryant for the Ford Foundation reported that, "less than one percent of America's earned doctoral degrees are held by Negroes."[12] Black women had earned 21.3 percent of these degrees, or approximately .2 percent of all doctorates awarded prior to 1969.

Table 1 presents the number of native-born male and female doctorate recipients in the years 1973-1976 for six racial/ethnic groups and the percent of all doctorates that each male or female total represents. An examination of the table reveals that the total number of male Ph.D.'s has declined while the number of female Ph.D.'s has increased. Male and female minority group members have each increased their numbers among doctorate recipients at about the same rate, with the largest percentage increase among black women. The National Research Council reports:

> The smallest sex difference in percentage of Ph.D.'s is now found among Blacks, followed by Puerto Ricans and Asians. In each of these groups, women received at least one-third of the Ph.D.'s in 1976. The largest discrepancy is found among Chicanos where only 19.4% of the doctorate recipients were women.[15]

TABLE 1. NATIVE-BORN U.S. CITIZENS WHO RECEIVED THE DOCTORATE IN FISCAL YEARS 1973-1976 BY SEX AND RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP (NUMBER AND PERCENT)[13]

Racial/Ethnic group		Year							
		1973		1974		1975		1976	
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
White	M	16,018	59.7	17,916	70.9	18,030	69.3	14,744	68.0
(83%)*	F	3,757	14.0	4,562	18.0	5,446	20.9	5,717	21.9
Black	M	427	1.6	560	2.2	630	2.4	636	2.4
(11%)	F	150	.55	259	1.0	339	1.3	429	1.6
American Indian	M	84	.31	98	.38	112	.43	110	.42
(.4%)	F	24	.08	23	.09	31	.12	35	.13
Chicano	M	78	.29	123	.48	147	.56	166	.63
	F	16	.05	25	.09	29	.11	40	.15
Puerto Rican	M	29	.10	38	.15	48	.18	40	.15
(.7%)	F	7	.02	17	.06	14	.05	25	.09
Asian	M	99	.36	108	.42	94	.36	99	.37
(.7%)	F	24	.08	33	.13	36	.13	50	.19
Total reported	M	16,735	80.7	18,843	79.2	19,061	76.3	18,795	74.9
	F	3,978	19.2	4,919	20.7	5,895	23.6	6,296	25.0
Other and Unknown	M	5,012		1,242		827		801	
	F	1,099		263		206		191	
Total	M	21,747	77.0	20,085	79.5	19,888	76.6	19,596	74.9
	F	5,077	23.0	5,182	20.7	6,101	23.6	6,487	25.0

*Percent of Total U.S. population represented by each racial/ethnic group.[14]

The National Research Council reported in May, 1978, that of the 31,672 degrees awarded in 1977:

. Blacks received 1,186
. Asian Americans received 907
. Hispanic Americans received 471
. American Indians received 215
. Foreign Nationals received 3,447[16]

Some of these numbers are somewhat larger than those reported in Table 1 because they include persons who are citizens but are not native-born. However, these data do suggest that the gradual increase in the number of minority doctorate recipients is continuing.

The report of the sex difference in Ph.D. completion for the different racial/ethnic groups cited above is encouraging, but a cursory examination of the numbers being discussed immediately negates any optimism one might have felt. When minority women doctorates are discussed, a very small number of persons is being considered. At the current rate, policies which mandate increased participation of minority women as administrators and faculty in colleges and universities must fail. A substantial increase in Ph.D. completion for minority women in all fields must occur before parity between minority male and female doctorates and white and minority group doctorates will be achieved.

Generalization #4 - Minority women tend to be concentrated in a narrow range of fields.

As undergraduate students, black women are found most frequently in a limited number of academic disciplines, those defined earlier as women's fields, e.g., elementary and secondary education, social work and nursing.[17] Hicks points out that black women, ". . . were generally cautioned to go into (fields) where jobs seemed available . . . Play it safe."[18] Mommsen

noted that "black Ph.D.'s have consistently been found to be most heavily concentrated in the field of education and least represented in the physical sciences."[19] The situation is more extreme in the case of black women than black men. Bryant reported in 1970, in a study of all living black doctorates, that 75.7 percent of all black women doctorates were concentrated in three fields, i.e., education (36.3%); social sciences (19.7%); and the humanities (19.7%).[20]

Table 2 depicts women doctorate recipients according to the percentage distribution of doctorates received among 11 fields.

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE OF NATIVE-BORN WOMEN DOCTORATE RECIPIENTS IN FY 1973-1976 BY BROAD FIELD AND RACIAL/ETHNIC GROUP[21]

Field	Racial/Ethnic Group					
	White	Black	American Indian	Chicano	Puerto Rican	Asian
Mathematics	1.5	.4		.9		2.8
Physics & Astronomy	.6	.3	.9			1.4
Chemistry	2.2	.5	1.8		1.6	5.6
Earth Sciences	.6	.3	.9			
Engineering	.4					
Biosciences	12.7	6.0	10.6	6.4	6.3	20.3
Psychology	13.3	7.3	9.7	[illegible].5	11.1	13.3
Social Sciences	10.2	5.8	9.7	7.3	14.3	4.2
Arts & Humanities	23.3	9.1	24.8	30.0	15.9	21.7
Professional Fields	3.2	4.5	4.4	5.5	3.2	3.5
Education	31.8	65.8	37.2	44.5	47.6	27.3
Total	99.8	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1

According to the data presented in this table, the concentration of black women has greatly increased in the years since the Bryant data were reported with over 65 percent of black women doctorates accounted for by education alone. Their representation in the humanities and social sciences has declined. Examination of the table indicates that other minority women doctorates are similarly concentrated albeit not as severely as black women. White and Asian women show the greatest dispersion among fields.

Generalization #5 - While affirmative action programs have had some impact, minority women still suffer inequities as professionals in colleges and universities.

Black women have benefited from the affirmative action programs which have been developed to alleviate the inequities resulting from race and sex discrimination in faculty appointments. In a study of black doctorates, Rafky reported that blacks "seem to be sought out more often than white faculty."[22] Malcom, et al. noted, however, that "(black) women in academe, although recruited differently, experience similarly the reality of being invited for a suspiciously large number of inquiries and interviews, compared to the actual number of job offers."[23]

The formal reward system in colleges and universities has been less responsive to black women just as it has been less responsive to white women. Black women faculty and administrators in colleges and universities are in the extreme minority. In a case study of the University of Pittsburgh, Carroll noted:

> . . . white men and black men markedly exceed white women and black women at the upper ranks. White men constitute 50 percent of the associate or full professor ranks, black men 31 percent, white women 19 percent, and black women 3 percent. Clearly, sex is more of a handicap than race in the upper ranks . . . and the disproportion between the sexes is far greater for blacks than for whites.[24]

Rickman reported:

> Of the 150 women college presidents, only two are black. (One of these at a predominantly black institution) . . . Very few black women hold nontraditional policy/leadership posts in higher education institutions.[25]

In a study of women and minorities in administration, conducted by the College and University Personnel Association (CUPA) in 1977, it was found that minority men held five percent of administrative posts and minority women held less than two percent.[26] The report also noted that almost half of all the minority men and women holding administrative positions in the survey institutions were employed by the 36 minority institutions. The other half were employed by the 1,001 white institutions included in the survey.[27]

The following distribution of minorities in administration was documented.

TABLE 3. INSTITUTIONAL AFFILIATION OF MINORITY MALE AND FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS[28]

	Minority Men	Minority Women
Two-year Institutions	4.1%	1.1%
Specialized Colleges	2.6%	1.4%
Liberal Arts Colleges	1.6%	0.6%
Comprehensive Colleges and Universities	3.5%	0.8%
Research Universities	3.0%	0.8%

It is evident from these data that minority men are much more apt to obtain an administrative post than minority women, especially in universities. The study reported that job concentration was greater by sex than race. Of minority women employed at white coeducational institutions half were employed in five of 52 administrative posts, four of which were the same as for white women, i.e.:

> Affirmative Action/equal employment officer
> Head librarian
> Student financial aid director
> Nursing dean
> Registrar[29]

In contrast with their access to the most highly valued aspects of the formal reward system in colleges and universities, i.e., promotion and tenure, black men and women faculty have been advantaged financially in the quest to obtain black Ph.D.'s in higher education. In a study of black Ph.D.'s in the academic marketplace, Mommsen reports:

> From the perspective of recruiting institutions, especially major white universities seeking black Ph.D.'s, the price of obtaining a black faculty member, 'token' or otherwise, will likely be high. The increased demand . . . has tended to drive the price of black Ph.D.'s up.[30]

Gordon, et al. investigated discrimination in faculty salaries at an urban university. She found, ". . . a black male . . . earn(ed) 14.0 percent more and a black female . . . earn(ed) 7.5 percent more . . . than the corresponding whites."[31] Black women have benefited from the shortage of black Ph.D.'s, but Gordon's data suggests that they do not benefit as much as black men.

The salary differentials observed between black male and female faculty apparently also exist among black administrators. The CUPA study noted that while minority men were generally paid about as much as white

men holding the same job title at the same type of institution, "women, both white and minority, were paid only about 80 percent as much as men with the same job title when employed by the same type of institution."[32] It was also noted that:

> Minority women and white women at minority institutions and white women at white men's colleges were the most poorly paid, compared with white men in similar positions at the same institutions.[33]

Summary

While minority women have suffered inequities on the basis of race or ethnic group and are subject to the conditions under which women in general participate in higher education, they are also affected unequally by this combination status in their student and professional lives.

Minority women are:

- less likely to complete high school.
- more likely to be isolated in their college environment.
- less likely to complete college.
- more likely to complete a degree in a woman's field.
- less likely to complete a graduate degree.
- more likely to hold low academic rank.
- less likely to occupy administrative posts.
- more likely to be overlooked by colleges and universities and other agencies involved in affirmative action.

* * * * * *

1. What circumstances continue to contribute to the much smaller number of minority women, in contrast with minority men, who complete college or an advanced degree?

2. The concentration of black women doctorates in the field of education appears to be increasing while their presence in some other fields has decreased. What could account for this? Could affirmative action programs have had any effect on this phenomenon?

3. Why are there so few minority women administrators? Are there any at your institution? In which positions?

4. What explanations can you think of for the salary differentials which exist between minority men and minority women? Do these exist at your institution?

FOOTNOTES

1. Fact Sheet on Institutional Sexism (New York: Racism/Sexism Resource Center, 1977).

2. Elizabeth Abramowitz, "Minority Women," On Campus With Women (Washington, D.C.: Project on the Status and Education of Women, Association of American Colleges, March 1977.)

3. Donna Hart, "Enlarging the American Dream," American Education 13 (May 1977).

4. Ibid.

5. Elaine Walster, T. Anne Cleary and Margaret M. Clifford, "Research Note: The Effect of Race and Sex on College Admission," Sociology of Education 44 (Spring 1970), p. 243.

6. Ibid., p. 242.

7. "Statistics of Higher Education," Yearbook of Higher Education (Chicago: Marquis Academic Media, 1975-76), p. 242.

8. Constance Carroll, "Three's a Crowd: The Dilemma of the Black Women in Higher Education" in Academic Women on the Move (New York: Russel Sage Foundation, 1973), p. 178.

9. Charles Willie and Joan Levy, "Black is Lonely," Psychology Today 5 (October 1972), p. 76.

10. Shirley M. Malcom: Paula Hall; and Janet Brown, The Double Bind: The Price of Being a Minority Woman in Science (Washington, D.C.: American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1976), p. 16.

11. Ibid., p. 17.

12. James W. Bryant, A Survey of Black American Doctorates (New York: Ford Foundation, 1970), p. 3.

13. Dorothy M. Gilford and Joan Snyder, Women and Minority Ph.D's in the 1970's: A Data Book (Washington, D.C.: Commission on Human Resources, National Research Council, 1977), p. 26.

14. "Number and Percent of Minority Persons in United States Population, 1970," in Betty M. Velter and Eleanor L. Babco, eds., Professional Women and Minorities (Washington, D.C.: Scientific Manpower Commission, May 1975), p. 115.

15. Gilford and Snyder, op. cit., p. 27.

16. "Doctoral Awards Drop 3.8 pct., but Women Enlarge Their Share," The Chronicle of Higher Education XVI (May 30, 1978), p. 6.

17. Carroll, op. cit., p. 176.

18. Laurabeth H. Hicks, "The Mature, Married Black Female in Academe," paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, August 1974, p. 2.

19. Kent G. Mommsen, "Black Ph.D.'s in the Academic Marketplace," Journal of Higher Education 45 (April 1974), p. 255.

20. Bryant, op. cit., p. 6.

21. Gilford and Snyder, op. cit., p. 40.

22. David M. Rafky, "The Black Scholar in the Academic Marketplace," Teachers College Record 74 (December 1972), p. 257.

23. Malcom, Hall and Brown, op. cit., p. 22.

24. Carroll, op. cit., p. 176.

25. Geraldine Rickman, "The Doctorate," Comment (Fall 1976), p. 11.

26. Carol Van Alstyne, et al., 1975-76 Administration Compensation Survey: Women and Minorities in Administration of Higher Education Institutions (Washington, D.C.: College and University Personnel Association, June 1977), p. 8.

27. Ibid., p. 10.

28. Ibid., p. 9.

29. Ibid., p. 10.

30. Mommsen, op. cit., p. 261.

31. Nancy M. Gordon, Thomas E. Morton and Ina C. Braden, "Faculty Salaries: Is There Discrimination by Sex, Race, and Discipline," The American Economic Review 64 (June 1974), p. 426.

32. Van Alstyne, et al., p. 11.

33. Ibid.